1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

Funerary rites.—Death may result from the abduction of the soul by some spirit or by the ghost of a relative. 761

The ghost-soul loves and pities the living whom it has deserted, but the latter fear and abhor the ghost-soul. [Henry, 1941, p. 67.]

Not long ago the *Aweikoma-Caingang* cremated the dead and later collected and buried the bones, along with part of the deceased's property. After a cremation, they extinguished their fires and drilled fire anew. The soul of the deceased loomed as a peril especially to the surviving spouse, who went into retreat, abstained from eating meat, and underwent lustration. To terminate mourning, the mourner's hair and fingernails were clipped, pounded up, and thrown into the water. Then followed a beer festival, accompanied by dances and songs, during which the widow drank beer from a bamboo tube. Keening was not confined to the period of death, but occurred throughout the following year whenever relatives recalled their bereavement. 764 765

The *Caingang* now inter their dead with knees drawn up. Chants are sung around the body during and after its transportation to the grave. One cemetery had two central tumuli, 10 to 20 feet by 18 to 25 feet (3 to 6 m. by 5.5 to 7.5 m.) surrounded by vertically walled ditches. The same tumuli have been reported for the 18th-century *Guayaná*, ancestors of the *Caingang*[8] (fig. 60). The corpse, with funeral deposit, is put in a deep chamber, roofed with palm fronds and earth. The villagers at once desert the settlement and hastily construct new dwellings in the woods. For 3 days they eat only palm shoots (palmitos) and maize boiled by throwing heated potsherds in the water. They destroy part of the deceased's property and impose a strict taboo on his name. 764 768

The grave is periodically visited to renew the mound and to hold a memorial service with lamentations, dancing, chanting, and drinking. For several years, at dawn and dusk the relatives of a dead person utter funeral laments. 765

In days of old if a person died far away from his village, his companions interred his body on the spot but kept his head in a pot. On returning home they celebrated a funeral ceremony and buried the head in the communal cemetery (Horta Barboza, 1913, pp. 29–30). 766

Life after death.—Before the burial, the shaman, as he rattles his gourd by the corpse, warns the soul about the lurking dangers in the other world. He tells it that it will arrive at two paths, one leading to the cobweb of a gigantic spider and the other to a trap which will 775 764

[8] See Lozano (1873–74, 1: 423): "forman un género de cementerio, que conservan muy limpio; y en él abren sus sepulturas, y en enterrando á alguno, ponen sobre cada una un montón de tierra en figura piramidal, en cuyo remate sientan un medio calabazo, y al pié conservan de continuo un fuego lento que van a cebar todos los dias con leña muy tenue, sus mas cercanos parientes. El calabazo, dicen, es para que no falte al difunto con que beber, si le afligiere la sed; y el fuego para que ahuyente las moscas." On the funerary mounds, see also Serrano (1939, pp. 15–16).

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

primary causes of polygyny is that "There are no other men." Like Wanyekí,[10] the first husband of Amendó, a man may acquire two or more wives because there "are no other men around." But although this was true in the case of Wanyekí who lived far away from other people, it is necessary to remember that it is easier to give this as a blanket explanation than to bother about the numerous causes of a man's taking two or more wives. Among the young men on the reservation today there are several young bachelors; Nanmblá, however, has two wives.

Kuthúgn, old Thunder Storm, on the other hand, went around without a wife for years until his older brother died, leaving two wives, and Kuthúgn married them. But the Kaingáng do not impose or bestow on men the duty or the privilege of marrying their dead brothers' wives, nor do they compel widows to marry their brothers-in-law. Since the Kaingáng have no lien on spouses, since spouses are not conceived of as belonging to one group that has bought them or whose entire pattern of affinal exchanges is based on their permanent attachment to it, and since, furthermore, no group has given a man or woman in marriage in exchange for one received from a different group, there is no mechanism to compel a widow or widower to accept any particular new spouse. The ideology of mourning and the isolation of the widowed shows a complete lack of interest in these things.

A widowed person is dangerous, for the ghost of the departed clings to its last earthly vestiges in the hair of the surviving spouse that touched its own while living and under the nails where the dirt from food cooked or killed for the one now dead still lies. It follows its spouse about wherever it goes, for it is loath to give up its earthly attachments. It is a menace not only to the surviving spouse but to the whole community, for no one knows whom it may select as desirable to keep it company in the land of souls. So the widowed must be got out of camp for two weeks or two months, until the attachment of the ghost is enfeebled. Then, at the end of this time of fasting from the foods that he killed for his wife or that she cooked for her husband, the spouse is brought back with hair and nails cut off and is thus freed from the dirt that was so close a link to the ghost. Before the Kaingáng came to the reservation the return of the surviving spouse was the occasion for an elaborate ritual. With head covered with feathers as a disguise to fool the ghost, with wholesome herbs strewn in the path, to the noise of frantic singing and rattling to frighten the ghost away the widowed person came back and soon began his sex life anew. When the ghost of her husband had been frightened away contact with the woman was safe, for Kaingáng ghosts do not suffer from sexual jealousy after the first few weeks but oscillate eerily between the land of the dead and the dwellings of the living, harassed by a loneliness that urges them from time to time to

[10] He and Amendo died in about 1905.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

snatch away some human being to bear them company. If the ghost longs 765
to renew intercourse and return at night for this purpose, it is the old spouse who suffers, never the new partner. No woman remains a widow because men are afraid to marry her. The Kaingáng are forever daring the supernatural anyway.

The children belong to their parents, if one can speak of "belonging" in 593
a society in which children are not valued as property. What we so strongly idealize the Kaingáng actually feel, for to them children are like highly charged emotional batteries. They are valued for their potentialities as emotionally satisfying living things, like most other pets.[11] There is no idea expressed that when they grow up they will feed and protect their parents,[12] 882
for in nomadic days the latter knew only too well the whims that urged and the necessities that compelled their children to wander away from them. They themselves had felt the desire to go north or west or east to see the country or to attack the Brazilians, and they too had left their own parents to follow the camps of their wives' relatives. But when children are left fatherless it often devolves upon the father's family to take care of them, for they feel that responsibility, and it is in this way that it comes about that a widow often marries someone of her husband's kin. She goes where her [587]
children are, and it is there, in the midst of her husband's close kin, that she begins her sex life anew and often finds her new husband.

It is a similar factor of residence that brings it about that in the majority 595
of cases the co-spouses in a polygynous or polyandrous marriage are either siblings or first cousins. For in the closer relationship that springs up among the members of the families related by marriage the most obvious choice is a person whom one sees all the time and with whom, therefore, one delights to have an affair. Since this choice rests almost wholly with the widow and since it is conditioned by a large number of accidental factors, principally what men are available at the moment, her new husband is as likely to be older than her dead husband as younger. Even when he is past middle age a man is still a vigorous hunter, and even if he is an old man, he can depend on someone to help toward the support of his household. His wife may philander as she will, but she is still his wife, and if he [684]
catches or suspects her he may beat her or even put a club through her chest.

If we were to believe Yatí as quoted by Thunder Storm's son, we could say that Thunder Storm acquired his third wife because he was an outstanding figure. But I am inclined to doubt this. His third wife was

[11] The Kaingáng, like many South American peoples, keep pet monkeys, pigs, *quatí* and hawks. Only the latter are used—for their feathers. Dogs are not pets; emotionally they belong rather in the category of unrelated human beings.

[12] It is true, nevertheless, that the parents could generally depend to some extent on their children's help, particularly before marriage.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Appendix III

Rituals

Death

765 WHEN DEATH COMES the emotional resources of the Kaingáng are mobilized to overcome the forces of destruction that have been set in motion. Death, the perpetual threat, has become momentarily actualized in the form of the *kuplêng*, the ghost-soul of the deceased, and the most elaborate ritual forms the Kaingáng possess are directed toward the elimination of this threat. Of all the survivors at a death the one who stands in greatest peril from the *kuplêng* is the spouse, the *thâpʏa*. The Kaingáng feel that the spouses have had such intimate relations that there must be a complete wiping out of all the old contacts. The rites through which the *thâpʏa* passes are intended, however, not only to safeguard his life, but also to protect the community. No one can be sure whom the *kuplêng* will select for its companion, but since it clings most closely to the *thâpʏa* he must free himself from the *kuplêng* as soon as possible. The *thâpʏa* is a threat to the members of his group—they are genuinely afraid of him—and the rites which he performs serve both to rid him of his personal fear of his dead spouse and to make him once more acceptable to his fellows. As Klendó put it, "They . . . make a festa when the husband or the wife comes back so that he [or she] can live with them."

765 783 Even before his spouse's bones are buried the *thâpʏa* leaves camp for his widower's (or widow's) isolation, his *waikômâng*. "I did not want to see the bones," said Klendó; "so I left before she was burnt. I was afraid I would die; so I went to another place. I used to talk to her; therefore I was afraid to see her bones. I did not want to see her bones because I did not want to see her *kuplêng* while I was asleep."[1] A man leaves camp alone, [767] taking his bow and arrows, an axe and a blanket, but no pot, for *thâpʏa*

[1] Up to this point all that has been said applies equally to men and women.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

765 may not eat cooked food until they have completed the ritual series. If they 783 did they would get hot inside and die. The *thâpáya* must refrain from all 262 meat; all they are allowed to eat is honey and vegetable foods, and by the end of their *waikómáng* they may be very thin. If a widower encounters game he may shoot it, but he must not eat it. Instead he opens its belly and rubs the blood "all over himself to wash off[2] the hunting[3] that he used to do for his wife. This is called wiping[4] off and throwing away. He does the same with honey, bees' larvae, and bee sugar. He shoots tapir, pigs, deer, *tateti*, monkeys, jacutingas, howler monkeys, macucas, ururús [and a number of other birds]. He shoots several and does this wiping himself off."[5] By rubbing himself with the blood of game animals the husband removes one of the principal ties with his wife, for during her life he had shot game for her. Thus the whole ritual, including the fasting, is a transparent cleansing ceremony, in which the very terminology makes the psychological point clear. The Kaingáng do not feel that the dead are impure or that they contaminate, but that the *kuplêng* follows the vestiges of its earthly life, to the peril of survivors.

765 The *thâpáya* does not remain so far away from camp that he is completely out of contact. Under aboriginal conditions that would have put him in actual peril of his life from human enemies,[6] but always remains close enough for some woman to prepare a sleeping-place for him every night. There he sleeps alone with two stems of the *nggign* fern[7] in his arms "just as he used to hold his wife.[8] The *kuplêng* is afraid of these and goes away." Women remain nearer to camp than men, and if they have nursing infants they take them along. They do not always sleep alone, for often a woman who prepares the sleeping-place for the *thâpáya* and sprinkles it with protective herbs wraps her in her arms all night long in a protective embrace against her husband's *kuplêng*. If there have been a number of deaths at one time, as from a raid by the *bugreiros* or by ven-

[2] *Waikupé*, to wash oneself.

[3]

é	*plą*	*thí*	*mé*	*é*	*té*	*pándí*	*yé*
his	wife	her	for	he	(instru-mental particle)	shoot	place

Literally, the place where he used to shoot for his wife.

[4] *Waiyerkjí*, to wipe oneself. Without the reflexive it means "to wipe," as in cleaning the barrel of a gun.

[5] Women, since they have not the weapons with which to kill animals, simply rub themselves with honey.

[6] When the Brazilian Indian hunters, the *bugreiros*, were thought to be in the neighborhood, no one went on *waikómáng*.

[7] See p. 187 fn.

[8] Or husband.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

detta enemies, the male and female *thâpʏa* form separate groups and go off together.

The period of *waikómáng* is exceedingly variable. Until a few years ago the end of *waikómáng* was marked by *angdjñdn*, the festa of rattles. In preparation for this event, which marked the reacceptance of the *thâpʏa* by his group, beer was prepared. But before the *thâpʏa* returned he had to be completely cleansed of his spouse's "dirt,"[9] and to this end the people who went to fetch him cut his hair, "because when he slept with his wife their heads were together," and his finger nails. It is said of women that their nails were cut "because they used to get meat under their nails in preparing food for their husbands." The people sang during the entire rite of cutting the hair and nails in order to frighten off the *kuplêng*. The songs that were sung during the death rituals are called *ẽhẽdn;*[10] some of them were sung only at certain points in the ritual series, while others are not ritual songs but are part of the general song repertoire of each man.[11] While the hair was being cut it was held with a bit of medicine to protect the cutter, and when the task was finished hair and nails were pounded up in a mortar with a number of herbs, including the ubiquitous tapir's raw food, and thrown into the water.[12]

"The hair is thrown into the water because they are afraid to let it rot on earth. The first-born [i.e. the ancients] came out along the water, and therefore they throw the hair into the water." Like tapir's raw food, water is a general life-symbol to the Kaingáng. In the same way the hair and nails of young children are thrown into the water "so that they will grow. Otherwise the children would dry up and die," and the umbilical cord is placed in the water for the same reason. The Kaingáng have great faith in bathing wounds with water, and all herbs are mixed with water before they are applied to the body as remedies.

The entire body of the *thâpʏa* was now rubbed with tapir's raw food to cleanse him, and his head was covered with feathers or a feathered cloth, for the combination of the haircut and the feathers would prevent the *kuplêng* from recognizing him. As he walked toward camp where the beer was waiting someone went before him scattering herbs in his path to frighten away the *kuplêng*, and as they walked fearfully along they sang

[9] *Nyunggĩ*, dirt; taboo as applied to food.

[10] From the stem *hã*, whole, entire, sound. The purpose of these songs is to keep people well.

[11] See p. 192 this section.

[12] "They also cut the hair of her small child. Its father used to see its hair; so they cut it off." The hair at the nape of the neck was never cut off in this rite, for that would cause death.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

whatever songs occurred to them. When those in camp heard the singing they too began and as the group entered the dance circle they were greeted by loud singing and the whirr of gourd rattles. "This is our song of fear. He[13] was afraid of her.[14] He was singing for her husband's *kuplêng* to be afraid and go away. He sang in front of her. When they saw him coming they began to dance with their rattles. The women came behind her, rattling. These rattles are for the *kuplêng* of the husband to fear and go away. Widows sit and the men dance around them. They dance about behind the woman. She is told to sit down. They are afraid of the woman. They think that if they stay there they might die; that is why they dance the woman. They are afraid of the woman because she used to live with her husband. That is why they have the *angdjîdn*. When there is no more beer they go to the water and wash themselves and then wash their mouths with muddy water. They wash their mouths because they are afraid of the songs. It is because they sang with their mouths. They rub their bodies with sand and stones because they do not rot. I am going to be like stones that never die. I am going to grow old like stones."

Starting with the change of the body-paint symbols, as described in Appendix II, the normal activities of life were in part reversed, with the object of confusing the *kuplêng*. Instead of drinking his beer from a gourd or from a basket the *thûpfya* drank from a bamboo tube. A widow was *given* the drink because formerly she used to *give* it out to others, and she remained lying down in the morning when her children were already up because she used to get up to take care of her husband. "If she were to get up while her children slept they would die."

It is still dangerous to eat cooked food for a while, but after a few more days another rite overcomes the danger inherent in this act. "They kill a tapir and cook it, mixing *ndolô* or *kakleiklé* leaves in a clay pot with water. The water is brought to a boil with heated stones. They boil it and take it off and pour it into a plate. Then the people are called together and they drink the remedy and eat the meat."[15]

[13] A relative who was leading the group back to camp. Specific relationships are of no importance in these ceremonies.

[14] Although this is a description of a particular ceremony that took place when a relative of the informant died, leaving his widow, the description has equal validity for widowers.

[15] This has some striking parallels in the rites following the killing of men. "A man who killed a Brazilian did not eat from a pot. He roasted his food. They would pound the thorns of *chuio*, put it in a pot, and put water on top to boil it. Then they would drink it, and then they would eat from the pot. When they killed their own people they would do the same thing. They wanted to [be able to] kill men; so they pounded thorns and mixed it with water and drank it. When we are walking along thorns seize us and rip our skin; so they do this [pound thorns] so that they will be able to do the same thing. If one were to eat from a pot after killing the Brazilians one could not kill anyone after that. Some people would wash themselves after an attack on the Brazilians to protect themselves from [the scent of] dogs."

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Awelkoma

Now the *thápfyu* after a period of approximately three to five weeks could again take up his normal course of existence, except that he had still to abstain from sexual intercourse. 765

One of my informants gave me a number of ritualistic specializations in terms of the body-paint scheme. Although I consider them of very doubtful validity, I give them here for the sake of completeness.

(1) When a man comes back from *swaikdnáng* he is given his food by a woman of the opposite mark, because "they are different and therefore are not afraid."

(2) The period for which Wanyekí *kdikd kí* must abstain from cooked food is much longer than for Klendó.

(3) The former keep their body paints on for a much longer time.

(4) The Klendó *kdikd kí* use pine needles in the pot at the ritual of the first eating of cooked food.

The rituals of the *swaikdnáng* and the *angdjida* are limited to *thápfyu*, the widowed, for it is only the surviving spouse who must go through any procedure at all.[20]

Cremation and Burial

Vomble's description of these ceremonies, which I never had the opportunity to see, since the Kaingáng no longer burn their dead, is so clear and vivid that it needs practically no elucidation or paraphrasing; and I therefore give it word for word. 764

"They place him on a blanket. Arrows are placed beside him. Feathers are placed on him.[21] His arrows are broken. The bowstring is cut and the arrows tied with it; also the wrapping for future arrows. The bow is chopped in half and tied together with the arrows. His head is laid to the west and his feet to the east because the *kupléng* dwell in the west. He will see the road and go that way. If they were to put him on the other way he would err. The wood [of the pyre] is waist-high. They place him on it and pile wood on top of him until it is as high as a man. They sink posts on the side all around so that the wood will not fall down. They put wax[22] and meat in his hands and say: 'There! Take it and go and leave me! You go to the many.' They pound him on the chest [and say]: 'Leave your animals[23] to me and go! When I am suffering [hunger] I'll shoot and eat them. Leave your people and go! Leave the honey for me! You went to

[20] All inherited property, however, should be wiped off with tapir's raw food.
[21] I do not know why.
[22] Symbolic of honey.
[23] All game animals. The *kupléng* is asked not to take the souls of the animals with it.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

764 "When they burn a man or woman they throw away their firebrands after the burning and make a new fire with a fire drill, for if they remained beside the old fires they would die—it was the fire by which the dead used to sleep."

Keening

765 The Kaingáng mourn in a rhythmic chant heavily interspersed with sobbing and snuffling. When a number of people come together at a death they all keen, but most of the keening throughout the year is done by individuals who start to think about their dead relatives and burst into tears. Keening is most commonly heard in the very early morning or evening, when the Kaingáng have nothing to do and it is not yet time for a meal. Nevertheless people may start to keen at any time at all and wherever they may be. Although the Kaingáng feel that it is respectful toward the dead to weep and are scornful of those who do not, they do not particularly select large crowds to weep in. The lusty voices of the Kaingáng carry wonderfully in the cool air before dawn or after sunset, and I have heard them as much as a quarter of a mile away. In a small camp it would be unnecessary for them to raise their voices so in order to be heard, but nowadays when the settlement stretches for half a mile on both sides of the river a powerful voice has its advantages. To me this mourning was always unintelligible, but anyone who has ever tried to understand a sobbing person in our own society will understand that my difficulties were not simply linguistic. The only way I could obtain texts was through informants. The chants thus obtained are a good sample of the general drift of the occasional keening, but since they were not uttered under the influence of emotion and were not taken down while the individuals were actually mourning they lack somewhat the variety of the "natural" product and are greatly reduced in length. Nevertheless they are faithful.

During the very early part of my stay I heard Anggló keening at a festa, and with the help of my interpreter, who gave me snatches of what she said with the interpretation, I managed to record a great deal.

Anggló's Chant

765 I am weeping. I forgot my daughter's[36] name and now I am remember-
53 ing. I loved[37] her much, and now I can love her no more. I desire very much to see her again. She used to call me mother. Before my daughter died she wept much. I desire to see my daughter today. My father[38] always provided food for me, but now I am hungry; that is why I am weeping.

[36] Anggló had one child who died.

[37] *Ka kfé nya.*

[38] Now she begins to mourn for her father.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

I am always bewailing my father. Before he died he suffered much. I thought that my father was alive, but he is dead. I always forget my father, but now I am remembering him. My father had many relatives, but I alone am weeping for him. I feel like weeping all day long for my father. He used always to get food for me. I wish to see him. I weep all day long for my daughter. When my father was alive I used to call him "father," but now I cannot. He always gave me food. I pity him. My father loved me much, but he left me and went away. I am forgetting my father a great deal. He suffered much. I desire to see my daughter who called me "mother." Before she died she called me "mother." My father used always to bring food for me, and now I wish to see him. My father died and never remembered me. My father died, and now I pity him. I am suffering because of my daughter. I cannot sleep because I am always thinking of my daughter. Whenever I eat I do not forget my daughter. She is there now [where she died, at the Post].

Kulá's Chant[29]

I am remembering my mother.[30] I want to call her mother. I am remembering my mother. I am the one who called her mother, but now it is all over. I am remembering my mother. When my mother would look at me she would remember that my father had seen me and she would weep—now that is all over. I am remembering my mother. I and my children used to call my mother mother—that is all over. I am remembering my mother. I want to see my mother. When my father would return after leaving me he would think of how I suffered, and he would weep. Grandmother, whose name I bear, would think of my sickness and suffering.

Kundidn's Chant

One of my *nyp*[31] would see my brother and me suffering, and she would come to us to weep. I suffered with him. My brother and I had no father; so he and I wept for my children. He and I suffered. I want to see my father.

Kundidn has lost all her nearest relatives—husband, parents, brothers, sisters, and four of her five children—and it is probable that if she had continued longer she would have mentioned her mother.

[29] This and the succeeding chants were obtained from informants. Kulá is Anggló's sister, but this chant was recorded eight or nine months after Anggló's, when their mother had died of the grippe. Kulá lost one baby many years ago—apparently she had stopped mourning for it.

[30] Literally, "I am remembering what mother looked like."

[31] See Appendix II.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Kuthúgn's Chants

I. For His Mother

965 539 Mother saw me and mourned every night. I was suffering. I forget what she looked like. I was hungry. I forget what she looked like. I forget what she looked like. I suffered. I forget what she looked like. I suffered. I am always weeping but I never see her. I forget her.

II. For men

Nyungnyén shot things for me. I suffered. I forget what he looked like. I used to wander about with *nyungnyén*, and he loved me. I used to go about with him, and I forget what he looked like. I forget what he looked like. *Nyungnyélé*[32] and I suffered a great deal and I forget him. I forget what he looked like. [Then he sings:] *e ko yo ho nei mo ko ma ve yo na ta ko ma chudn ve yo ne ta ko ma chudn ve.*[33] I suffered with *nyungnyén* a great deal and I forget what they looked like. I attacked other men with *nyungnyén*. I used to shoot things with them. I forget what they looked like.

Klendó's Chants[34]

I. For His Wife

I do not see my wife. Will I see her? I go with my wife. I do not see her.

II. For His Mother

I do not see my mother. Will I not see my mother? I forgot my mother.

III. For Véye (Who Died a Few Weeks Ago)

I do not see *nyungnyélé*. I do not hear *nyungnyélé* call me *yágn*.

IV. For a Father's Brother

I do not see *yágn*. I forget what *yágn* looked like. *Yágn* lived in me.

V. For a First Cousin Once Removed

I do not see *nyungnyén*. Will I see another who looks like her? I do not see her.

Vomblé's Chants

I. For His Relatives

My relatives shot things for me, and now I and my children are suffering.

[32] The term *nyungnyélé* is a form of *nyungnyén* that occurs only in mourning chants.
[33] This song has no meaning.
[34] These and the chants of Vomblé were recorded while they were my informants.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

II. For His Father

My father used to set food before me, and my children and I ate it; and now my children and I are suffering. My father would weep when he saw me because of my mother's having seen me.[85] Now when I am suffering I think of my father's face.[86]

III. For His Mother

I and mother had no *yógo*,[87] and I got nothing for her for a long time.[88] Since she left me I have no mother.

IV. For Véye (Who Died a Few Weeks Ago)

My *klá*[89] came to where he had seen me, and I had forgotten him. My *klá* and my many relatives shot things for me. My *klá* and I have no father. I am remembering his face and his leaving me.

To the Kaingáng these are all tender chants of remembering, forgetting, and regret, and they are striking for the complete absence of any elements of fear. So, too, there is only one resentful expression—in Anggló's chant where she says, "My father died and never remembered me." It is curious that the Kaingáng, who desire less than anything on earth to see their dead relatives, should express in their mourning chants a desire to see them. The chants of Klendó and Kuthúgn, with their monotonous reiteration of "I forget what he looked like" and "I do not see him" may be pure and simple expressions of their horror of seeing the dead again rather than elliptical statements which might be completed: "I forget what he looked like, he has been so long dead; and how sorry I am."

The chants of the three women are of the occasional type, i.e. of the type chanted whenever the mood comes on one, whereas those of the three men are of the type uttered at funerals.

While I was among the Kaingáng the women did much more keening than the men. The Indians, however, could not be made aware of the fact that there was any difference between the amount of keening done by the women and that done by the men.

Death Songs (Ẽkẽdn)

The following songs may be sung as the funeral pyre is being ignited:

[85] His mother was dead.
[86] Literally, "his appearance."
[87] She had no father, and therefore he had no grandfather.
[88] Vanhíl's explanation: "I would go to look for meat and not find it."
[89] See Appendix II.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

765
539

I

a to na a wa lẽ hẽ nų yó nẽ ḳẽ ya ma mbá vó yó
tu to na ha odi ḳẽgu yá nggá ḳó yéyé ḳo yĩgn mbá
ha yé ḳó yĩgn mbá.

Vomblé said, "They do this so that the *ḳuplẽng* will go. If they did not do this it would take the living away."

II

ḳĩ yẽ g tộ ḳó pando mẽ lẽlẽ nya
ḳội ḳĩ yẽ ha lẽlẽ nya ḳų
ḳội ḳĩ yẽ ų tộ ḳó pando mẽẽlẽlẽ nya ḳų
ḳội ḳĩ yẽ lẽlẽ nya

Vomblé explained: "They say to them that when they were alive they climbed trees.[40] Then they say '*ha ha*.' When the *ḳuplẽng* hears this it goes off. If they did not sing this all the souls would come and live with the living, and then the living would go with them."

III

la ḳónang yuḳẽ[41] *pĩtpĩlĩ vadnvala*
la ḳóna yuḳẽ pĩtpĩlĩ vadn vala

"This song is sung so that the pyre may burn," said Klendó.

IV

1) *hẽi tộ*[42] *vẽ hẽi tộ vẽ*
intact intact
sound
2) *vẽ ma la yudn*[43] *yó ḳlą tẽ*
3) *hẽi tộ vẽ hẽi tộ vẽ*
4) *vẽ ma la lẽdn yó ḳlą tẽĩ tẽ*
look you sun down place
5) *tộ vai tộ vẽ*

[40] The interpretation is clearly one of accommodation to what Vomblé feels to be the ethnologist's taste for interpretations. The song is made up of syllables some of which, though identical with meaningful elements in the Kaingáng language, have no conceivable meaning in the present context.

[41] The first five syllables have a general resemblance to what might be translated as "sun's eyebrows"; the two succeeding words might be translated as "sword" (a bird) and "lower" respectively. Since, however, no explanation was vouchsafed by the informant and the reference is not clear, it seems best to reserve judgment.

[42] A qualifying element.

[43] See p. 158.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Vomblé said that they sing this song "so that the *kuplêng* will not be *vai* to them. [When they say sing] *hẽi tę̣ vẽ* they are saying that when it is burnt the bones will be intact." But he immediately added: "They never sing this song. They sing their real song," i.e. their personal songs. Klendó said that this song made the corpse *vai*. "Kangdádn sang this song, and that is why Patá did not burn. It has [a syllable]*vai*[44] in it—that is why." But then, on the other hand, he says, "When Patá's *kuplêng* heard this it probably became afraid and went away." Another interpretation of this song by the same informant is that "he is singing in order that there should be no *kumbêdn* on the edge of the burning place where the sun comes up."

Klendó, who is usually silent when asked for interpretations of songs, thought that in line 4 the "place where the sun comes down" referred to the sun's being alive and red and that *tộ vai tę̣ vẽ* meant that the edge of the ashes [toward the west] is evil-omened.

Although Vomblé and Klendó give different interpretations of this song there is a general agreement between them. Both informants feel that the effect of the song will be to make things *hẽ*, sound, well, but Klendó feels that it also involves certain dangers because of the presence of the syllable *vai*.

The following are hair-cutting songs:

V

kuichã yápĩ tẽ kõ
wa kã na yõ anggã kãi mõ a nẽ
yungvẽ yukĩ kunẽ anẽ vavã ho
anẽ vavã kuichã yápĩ tẽ kõ
kuichã yápĩ nẽ kõ
wa kã na yõ anggã kãi mbõ anẽ
nang vẽ yãkĩ ku nẽ anẽ va vã ho
a nẽ vã hã

This song has no meaning whatsoever.

VI

ɨ nɨ yómẽn ho lã wa
kĩ kẽ lã kalẽ hẽ
ɨ nɨ yómẽn hõ lã wa
kuyo kuichõ
ɨ nɨ yómẽ hõ lã wa
kĩ kẽ kalẽ hẽ [and then repeat from the beginning]

[44] See line 3.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

765 This song has no meaning whatsoever. Said Vomblé: "This is our song
537 of fear. He is afraid of her [the *thâpáya*]. He is singing for her husband's *kuplêng* to be afraid and go away."

Ceremonies for the Kôklá [Ceremonial Father,] and Mbĕ [Ceremonial Mother][48]

The Placenta and Umbilical Cord

846 When the child is born the placenta and the piece of the umbilical cord that was attached to the child are wrapped in medicinal herbs, placed in a little basket, and sunk in a stream, and a sharpened stick is forced through the basket to keep it from floating away. This is called by the term *páyú*, which means to steal or to conceal. *páyú* is done most usually by a brother of the mother and his wife. Through the series of rites that begin with the *páyú* of his umbilical cord the child is bound to his father's affinal relatives.

The Baby's Meal of Cooked Food (Yôgndêyê)

852 Soon after the child is born its ankles are wrapped loosely with about twenty turns of cord, its *patthêyê*,[49] foot cords, and these are kept on for two weeks or so. Then the father decides to make a *yôgndêyê* for his child, and he goes out hunting, with perhaps a brother-in-law to help him, and hunts intensively for a number of days to get together enough meat for a big feast. When the meat has been collected the *mbê* and *kôklá* as well as all the close relatives of the child's parents who happen to be around, together with friends, are invited to a feast, and while their guests dine the parents look on without eating. Were they to eat, the father would never be able to shoot game again.

These ceremonies are almost always conducted in high spirits unless the hosts are stingy, and then everyone is rather gloomy and there are secret grumblings afterward. Everyone sits down wherever he wants to, the more distant relatives keeping discreetly in the background and joining but mildly in the conversation, the in-laws acting as if they "belonged," pushing the pots around and dishing out the food. When everyone has eaten as much as he can, or as much as there is, the men start to sing and the baby's mother hastens to remove the *patthêyê*, and when they are all unwound the party wanders off, carrying with it the remains of the feast. Depending on the quantity of meat, the party may last from a half hour to an hour.

[48] The explanation of all these ceremonies for the child is that if they were not performed the child would die, that it would not grow up, or that it would dry up and die.

[49] "The *patthêyê* are put on so they may be taken off at the *yôgndêyê*."

585 As a general rule, the young warrior builds himself a hut where he takes the girl of his choice, who lives henceforth as his wife. Sometimes, when the girl's family is small, he goes to live with his wife in her parents' hut. Incest does not occur among them, for [835] marriage is forbidden among close relatives. It is the custom of the tribe to respect marriage; adultery is unamously condemned and rarely occurs.

595 The warrior chooses his second wife with no more formality than the first. Both women enjoy the same rights. The additional wives are often sisters of the first one.

551 Male children are given the name of an outstanding ancestor, to which is added as a surname that of their father and of his lineage. The name of female children is chosen freely by the mother, whose own name is added as surname along with the name of her lineage.

This explains the great length of their names, such as for instance: Korikrã-Laksi-Layondesi, Vaikõidn-Ungrõsima-Põa-Tupi-Vaimusima.

764 Dead adults, men as well as women, are cremated in large fires built with selected woods. Pubescent children of both sexes are granted the same procedure, while young children are buried.

A warrior's weapons and other personal implements are burned along with his body. The ashes are gathered the following day and placed in a round pit, previously lined with tree bark and leaves, which is then filled with earth, covered with fragments of wood, and surmounted with a shelter.

765 The death of a chief or outstanding warrior is lamented by the whole tribe; his exploits are sung in a sort of litany for several days. Then the women recount in similar chants the virtues of the dead man in the domestic life of the tribe.

It is to be noted that on such occasions the Botocudo are seized by a profound sadness. Absorbed in their great sorrow, they become sullen and indifferent to everything and observe for several days a rigorous fast.

476 The social rule of the Botocudo is mutual aid, for which they were naturally trained by the insecure nomadic existence which has always been their lot.